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vocabulary, so much so that my Petats servant, a man of rather over the average of local intelligence, was unable at first to understand it, and carried on his converse with the Kurtatchi people in pidgin-English. He picked it up, however, in the course of a short time. This dialect is spoken also in the villages of Baniu and Timputs, farther along the coast of Bougainville to the east, and in one hamlet of Tabut, the next village on the west. The other hamlets of Tabut, the villages between Tabut and Buka Passage, and the village of Ruri, about four miles from Kurtatchi on its eastern side, speak dialects much more closely resembling those of the east coast of Buka, particularly that of the Hanahan district. The Hanahan dialect seems to be at least partially intelligible to many, if not most, of the people of the North Bougainville coast, and is used by the Roman Catholic Mission for their services.

The small amount of linguistic evidence available as regards the dialect spoken in the Kunua mountain district suggests that it belongs to a separate group altogether. Mr. Ray thinks that it may be regarded as Papuan. It is completely unintelligible to the coast natives, as are the coastal dialects to the Kunua people. Failure to comprehend each other's speech has probably always been an important factor in the attitude of hostility, now subsided into thinly veiled suspicion, which is traditional between the coast dwellers and the people of the central mountains, who, when investigated, will, I feel sure, prove to differ in many important cultural respects from the people described in the present volume, although they associate with them in certain matters, notably in the boys' puberty ceremonies.

With this exception, the linguistic differences are not sufficient to prove a bar to inter-communication between the various villages, though a closer connexion is maintained between villages speaking similar dialects. The custom of taking wives from outside the home village links them together, especially as a married couple will frequently reside now in one, now in the other, of their respective homes, and the children will be sent to stay for long periods in the household of their mother's brother. Communication between villages is also established by means of meetings for barter, which is carried on even where relations are not otherwise especially friendly.

Considering the difficulty of travel, which must all be done either on foot or by canoe, the natives range over quite a large area. For

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example, I found that the Petats people were familiar with all the small islands along the reef, and with the villages on the west coast of Buka, from Lontis in the north to Novar on the south, with all of which their genealogies showed that they had intermarried. They also associated with certain, but not all, of the villages of Central Buka, such as Sapani and Kohiso, and with Malasang on the east coast, whither they went to trade for pots. They were much less at home with the people of the north and east, whose affinities are mostly with the Bougainville coast. The difference came out in the demeanour of my companions on a tramp round the island during which we stayed at most of the principal villages.

The people of Kurtatchi have friendly contact with all the villages along the north coast of Bougainville, those of Tabut, Timputs, and Baniu, which speak the same dialect, being their closest affiliations. They are distrustful of the Hahon people living in the villages of the foot-hills behind the coast-line, though they do, on occasion, trade with them and attend their ceremonies. Several of the people of Kurtatchi originally belonged to Hanahan, on the east coast of Buka, and there are also kinship affiliations with Malasang. Little contact takes place between Kurtatchi and the villages on the west side of Buka, not only because of the difference of dialect, but also because the sea journey involved, by Buka Passage and up the coast, is much longer and apt to be difficult.

THE VILLAGE

Though very far from being a closed society, as will be evident from the preceding paragraph, the village yet forms a definite local group, possessing a certain amount of conscious unity. Where an American Indian will give you the name of his tribe, a Buka or Bougainville native tells you the name of his village. The inhabitants of, say, Baniu or Timputs will be spoken of by the people of Kurtatchi as 'the Baniu' or 'the Timputs'—I have often been told that 'the Baniu' would attend a certain ceremony, or 'the Timputs' would do this or that. In introducing to me a stranger who happened to be visiting Kurtatchi, the name of his village would always be mentioned before anything else, that being clearly considered the important thing in the matter of his identification.

Sites of villages. There is a succession of villages all round the coast of Buka, at intervals varying from a few hundred yards to

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361 The plan of the village of Kurtatchi, with details (given in Appendix I) concerning the huts of one portion of it, will serve as a concrete illustration of many points bearing on the organization of village life. The huts described formerly belonged to the hamlet of Gomen; they were being transferred to join those already standing at Kurtatchi at the time when I took up my residence in the village.

ANALYSIS OF POPULATION OF KURTATCHI VILLAGE IN 1930[1]

621 162 During the nine months I lived at Kurtatchi (January to September 1930), the resident population of that village was made up as follows:

Males.		*Females.*	
Widowers (1 young)	7	Widows (3 of child-bearing age)	12
Married adults	24	Married adults	35
Adolescent boys (wearing the *upi*)	25	Adolescent girls	7
Children	14	Children	12
Total	70	Total	66

Total number of both sexes and all ages, 136.

162 163 165 574 Apart from temporary variations, occasioned by the payment of visits and the hospitality offered to guests from other villages, which are of constant occurrence, the changes taking place in the population during my stay were as follows. There were two births, but neither of these added to the total, since one of the babies died two days after birth, the other belonged to a woman who came from her husband's village to be confined in her mother's hut; she took the baby home in a few weeks. There was one miscarriage. One woman was known to be pregnant at the time of my departure. One marriage took place, the bride coming to live in her husband's village. There were five deaths, one old man, two middle-aged men, one child about four, and the new-born child above mentioned.

167 881 784 464 Two men were away working as indentured labourers. Both returned to live in the village before I left it. Proportionately fewer people were away from this village than usual, because a taboo prevented the adolescent boys and the young men who were their sponsors from signing on as indentured labourers until after the performance of the *watawutʃ* ceremony, an important part of the boys' puberty rites. They were permitted to work on local

[1] I am here concerned not with demographic problems but only with the village as it was when this study was made.

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pointed out some that did not conform to type they said that those were wrong, but did not attempt any explanation, nor did the discrepancy appear to trouble them at all. One man said they must have got the lines from their fathers.

This belief is found also in Buin, in the extreme south of Bougainville, where it was recorded by Thurnwald (1912, vol. i, p. 536 and Tafel III). He gives drawings of three patterns, one of which, for the Fish-eagle clan (*manugau*), corresponds exactly to the drawing in Fig. 3 for the Naboin (Manu) people.

THE LINEAGE GROUP

The clan is, of course, made up of a number of lineage groups. The separate lineage groups seem to have been, in the olden days, far more self-contained than is the case at present, but even now the lineage functions to some extent as a unit with its own internal organization.

The child whose relations with his fellows we discussed at the beginning of this chapter will be taught from his infancy to regard as the person having most authority over him his mother's eldest brother, whom he calls *tsoanē*, and who calls him *pasumē*. But this man is himself under the authority of his own mother's eldest living brother, as long as any survive. The actual head of the lineage, therefore, is its eldest living male. The small child, however, will not at first realize this, since the man in question, his mother's mother's brother, calls him *tsubna'in*, 'grandson', and shows him all the affectionate attention usual in this community between grandparent and grandchild.

The members of a lineage will often be found living together in a hamlet, on ground which they claim as the property of their clan. As a result of the government policy of encouraging the natives to group themselves together in larger villages, for greater ease of supervision, the hamlet, which seems to have been originally the local unit (and, in the mountain districts, still is), is now becoming merged in the village, so that the lineage group no longer dominates the situation as once it did. The older state of things is best illustrated at Saposa, where the people are scattered over a number of tiny islands. Each island was designated as the property of a certain lineage group, in some cases for habitation, in some for growing coco-nuts, in some for purposes of burial. At Lemanmanu, on the Lontis coast (NW. Buka), I was told that in the olden

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days the Manu people lived at Lemanmanu and the Kekeleo people at the neighbouring village of Lemankoa, a short distance along the coast. There was great enmity between the two villages, so that people from the one could not go inside the barricade of the other. Intermarriage never took place between them in those days, but now that there is no more fighting they intermarry and live in either the husband's village or the wife's village as they please.

It is not to be supposed that the hamlet was ever composed entirely of members of the lineage, since their spouses stood outside that group. The information at my disposal is not definite enough to show with certainty whether these people were, in the past, more inclined to be matrilocal than they now are, but there seems to be some likelihood that this was the case. This custom prevails, at the present time, to quite a considerable extent, but it appears to be, with certain reservations to be discussed later, a matter of personal preference whether a newly married couple take up their abode with the wife's people or with the husband's, i.e. whether marriage removes a member of the lineage from the hamlet, or adds to it an individual belonging to another clan. In the latter case, though individuals added by marriage form no part of the lineage group with which they are now affiliated by residence, they recognize the authority of the head of that group, without withdrawing their allegiance from the group which is theirs by birth. Sometimes other families connected with the new-comer will come and take up their residence in the hamlet in order to be near their kinsman. The hamlet, and still more the collection of hamlets which constitutes a village, is therefore composed of a number of individuals bound together by all or any of the varied ties of blood, of clan, of marriage, and of locality.

TSUNAUN AND COMMONERS

In each village or group of hamlets there is one lineage group which takes precedence of all the others. This lineage may belong to any clan, and the clan to which it belongs is considered the most important, and is generally the most numerous, in that village. It may be that this group originally formed the nucleus round which the village has grown. The head of such a lineage is called *tsunaun*.[1]

[1] In order to avoid ambiguity I have retained the word *tsunaun* instead of translating it, since there is no single word which gives its sense exactly. 'Person of rank' or 'person of importance' would perhaps be a fair equivalent. No term

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The term applies not only to its actual head who is *tsunaun tʃan* (= great *tsunaun*), but to his potential successors, and to women whose children will be in the direct line of succession.

The succession is the same for both *tsunaun* and commoners, and is hereditary, in the female line, but with the proviso that all the males of one generation, if they live in the place, but not otherwise, become head of the lineage in order of their birth, before the succession passes to the eldest sister's eldest son. That is to say, a man's successor is his next younger brother (in our sense of the word), and so on until there are no more brothers living. Cases occur in my genealogies of the succession then passing to the son of the mother's sister, who is hardly differentiated from a blood brother, but it does not appear to pass to any of the other persons designated by the same classificatory term. The next in succession is the eldest son of the eldest sister, or, if she have none, of the next sister in age who has one. For this purpose the children of two sisters count as sisters. No case occurs in my genealogies of a lineal successor failing to be forthcoming, but I was told that if this should occur, the child of some other woman of the same clan would be chosen. The first heir of a new generation, i.e. the eldest son of the eldest sister, is called *wamoa* ('first-born') in the Kurtatchi dialect, and *got* in the Petats dialect.

Some concrete examples from my genealogies will serve to illustrate this rule of succession. It is the same for Petats as for Kurtatchi, and holds good, so far as my information extends, throughout the area. Pinari, *tsunaun* of the Nakarib people at Gomen (afterwards amalgamated with Kurtatchi), had inherited from his mother's brother Pasis, who followed an elder 'brother' Nau'uston (actually the son of his mother's elder sister). The other males of this generation are all dead. Pinari's eldest sister, Pari, had a son who died in adolescence, who would have been Pinari's heir had he lived. Failing him, the present heir is Kakari, eldest son of Matēv, the daughter of Pinari's mother's sister, ranking therefore as Pinari's sister. Next to him will come Sankuro, a son of a younger sister of Pinari, but in age between Kakari and Kakari's younger brother, Wakuis, who will follow Sankuro. Then will

is applied collectively to the people who are not *tsunaun*, but when it is required to emphasize the distinction a person will be described as *ti a pinpiun*, a person of no importance, literally, in the expressive pidgin-English phrase, 'man nothing'. For these people I have used the term 'commoners'.

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the *urar*: 'Oh, I like you, you are my man, you are a fine fellow.' Then the *urar* took his long breasts and gave them to the woman, and took hers, which were very small, for himself. Before that, the men had big breasts and the women small ones, afterwards, it was as it is now. The woman said: 'I don't want these big breasts, I want your *upi*. If you will give it to me I will not give it to any one.' The *urar* said: 'I don't want to suckle a child. If you have a child you must put him to your own breasts and give him milk.' Then he gave her the *upi*. She hid it in the bush. But one day a man caught her with it, and took it away from her. He said: 'You must not tell any of the other women about this.' The woman said: 'It belongs to me and to all the women.' The man said: 'No, I will not have that, it belongs to me now.' Then the man killed the woman. He said: 'It will be a bad thing if she stays here and talks about this to all the other women. I shall take this thing and put it in the bush, it won't do for any more women to know about it.' So he took the *upi*, and ever since then it has belonged to the men, and no longer belongs to the women.

CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH THE *UPI*

Three important ceremonies are connected with the wearing of the *upi*, each of which must be gone through by every boy, be he *tsunaun* or commoner. The first is called *wapi* (= *wa-upi*, to make *upi*), and celebrates the putting on of the hat. The second, held after a period of years, is the *watawutʃ*, which removes some of the restrictions placed upon the boys wearing the *upi*; of the three it is considered by far the most important. The third, held at some convenient time after the *watawutʃ*, is called *wasipsip* (*wa-* verbal prefix, *sipsip* = comb); at it the *upi* is finally removed. I was fortunate enough to have two opportunities of seeing the *wapi* ceremony, which I can therefore describe from personal observation, but of the other two I can give only an account compiled from notes of numerous discussions.

The first two ceremonies are held for the boys from a group of villages together, the third may be held for two or three, or even for a single individual, should he for some special reason wish to discard his *upi* at a given time. A boy must return to the group with which he went through the *wapi* ceremony when the time comes for the *watawutʃ*, even though his family may in the meantime have moved to a village belonging to another group. Thus there was a boy at Tabut, who did not share the ceremonies with the other boys of this village, but attended those of the Ruri group,

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621 because his father was living at Ruri when the *wapi* ceremony was held there.

881 With the village of Kurtatchi are associated those of Bebekes, Tabut, Tensoa, Wantoa, Munlus, Baniata, Bonona, Musang, Soringar, and Togaragar. These are all situated on the strip of coast between Kurtatchi and Buka Passage, covering a length of perhaps six or seven miles of it. The six hamlets comprising the village of Ruri, next to Kurtatchi on the eastern side, about three to four miles away, form a group of their own, and the string of villages still farther east, between Ruri and the island of Tiop at the north-eastern corner of Bougainville, are also a group by themselves. Another consists of the villages on the foot-hills to the south of Soraken Bay, but not including those of the Kunua district still farther to the south, which again form a separate group. I had no opportunity of ascertaining how far this custom continues beyond the Kunua district on the western side of Bougainville. On the eastern side it extends beyond the north-eastern corner for a few miles only, I believe.

291 The hats are not worn on Buka or on any of its adjacent islands,
881 but a ceremony having some features similar to the *wapi* ceremony
184 takes place at intervals. It has been witnessed and described by Mr. Gordon Thomas (1931, p. 226 ff.). I could obtain no more than the most meagre scraps of information about it from the people of Petats. At Lontis, on the north-west coast of Buka, I was told that the boys put on the hat for one month, and stay in the bush while wearing it; the day after the month is finished they come back to the village and the hats are burnt at night, in secret. The following account was obtained at Kurtatchi, and applies to all the groups described in the previous paragraph.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE *WAPI* CEREMONY

881 As both the *wapi* ceremonies held during my residence took place at a distance, I was not able to witness the preparations that were made for them. Everything connected with the *wapi* ceremony is kept very secret from the women, but men and boys were willing enough to tell me about these matters when there were no women within earshot. The listeners were quick to criticize or prompt the narrator, and as accounts received in different villages tally in essentials, I think the details are reliable, though there may be omissions, either inadvertent or intentional.

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A SECOND *WAPI* CEREMONY

Towards the end of my residence at Kurtatchi I had another opportunity of seeing the *wapi* ceremony, performed by the group of villages in the mountains behind the north-eastern corner of the island. The people of Kurtatchi were invited as guests, and Pinari made no objection to my accompanying them. Our party consisted of eight men, five of the bigger *upi* boys, and myself. The journey was considered too long for the smaller boys. We spent the night at Baniu. Next day we were joined by parties of men and boys from several coast villages and one from the hills. The hill-men were regarded with great suspicion by the coast people, who took care to keep well behind them. We walked to the accompaniment of much shouting and yelling and blowing of conch-shells. All were armed, with bows and arrows, knives, axes or spears; those who had no weapons cut themselves lengths of bamboo to serve as spears. Pinari cut one for me, saying that he was afraid the people of the mountains would be angry with him for having brought a woman, so I had better be a man for the occasion. He enjoined me to keep close to him and to do exactly as he did. Some time after passing through Raua Plantation we turned inland.

We were quite a large party when, after scrambling up a steep and slippery hill-side, we finally reached the appointed spot, a cleared place in the heart of the forest. We arrived in the prescribed manner, in a rush, brandishing our weapons, sounding conch-shells, and yelling at the tops of our voices, and were met by a similar party of those who had arrived before us, with the usual mock combat. There were a few moments of great excitement, the crowd now numbering several hundred.

The mountain people, as they appeared at this ceremony, certainly were a wild-looking lot. They have not adopted the fashion of wearing a loin-cloth, now almost universal along the coast, and many of them had not even the usual belt of string or leaves. Nearly all, old and young, had their faces painted in weird patterns of red and white; some had a smear of colour all round their eyes, some a series of white lines drawn obliquely across their cheeks, some had patterns carried out in dots. Several wore head-dresses made of feathers. The adolescent boys belonging to this group had been through the *watawutf* ceremony, and so were permitted to remove their *upi*, and most of them had done

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881 The men from other villages who took part, by invitation, in the
574 *wapi* ceremony, are not invited to these subsidiary ceremonies,
621 which are for the villages of the *upi* group only. But after a suitable interval, usually about a month, there is a feast called *sinēv*, to give food to all the people who attended the *wapi*, in return for their presence and the part they took in shouting and attacking. This is accompanied by a *kōma*. The food, as usual, is not all consumed at the time, but large quantities are given to the guests to carry home with them.

REGULATIONS AND PROHIBITIONS FOR WEARERS OF THE *UPI* DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE *WAPI* AND THE *WATA-WU'TJ* CEREMONIES

I. *Concerning women.*

882 Boys wearing the *upi* may not go into any house where a woman
689 lives, not even their own mother's. Their female relatives may prepare their food, but it must be handed out to them through the door at the *tagoan* (men's verandah). A boy breaking this rule
[266] would, in the olden days, have been killed, and his body eaten by the older men. Now they would 'make poison' against him and his father and mother, so that all three would die. This taboo on entering a woman's hut is still most meticulously kept.

887 They may not sit on the *babots* (women's verandah) or go round to that side of the line of huts.

They may not play with the girls and women in communal games, or join a group of which women form part. For example, they were not allowed to join the groups of story-tellers on my verandah whenever there were women present, so in order to induce the women to share in the story-telling I had to fix certain nights on which the *upi* boys were not allowed to come.

882 It is a very serious offence for a boy wearing the *upi* to indulge
834 in sexual intercourse. One or two cases known to my informants
684 were spoken of with the same horror and disgust—which I think was genuine—as was accorded to the worst type of incest. Punishment in the olden days was death for both parties. They said that until recently such a thing was unheard of—that is as it may be.
882 But I am pretty certain that this taboo is still strictly observed,
832 with rare exceptions. The following incident, however, is perhaps worth recording for its bearing on this matter. One evening when

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PREPARATIONS FOR THE *WATAWUTʃ*

881 The *watawutʃ* is considered by far the most important of the three ceremonies connected with the *upi*. It is looked forward to with great eagerness by everybody. In contrast to the *wapi*, it is held in the village, not in the bush, and there is no taboo on the presence of the women, which is, indeed, essential to its success. All the boys who went through the *wapi* ceremony together must attend the same *watawutʃ*. Not to be able to do so is considered a very great misfortune.

881 565 824 202 Several months before the ceremony, the *tsunaun* of the village in which it is to be held sends messengers to all the other villages in the group, carrying a number of strips of bamboo about 6 inches long, and a bunch of *win* leaves split into thin strands. A strip of bamboo is left with the *tsunaun* of each village, and one of the *win* strands at each house where there is in the family a boy wearing the *upi*. This is a sign that they must set aside a pig for the *watawutʃ* ceremony. Large areas of bush are cleared and planted with taro, which is also reserved for the *watawutʃ*. The women plant and tend this just as they do taro intended for everyday consumption.

881 346 621 313 824 When the time for the ceremony approaches, preparations are begun for building the 'long house' (*tobar tʃan*) for the novices. The *tsunaun* of the village in which the ceremony is to be held details certain portions of the structure to be provided by the various villages of the group. Special importance is attached to the *pa'i*, the horizontal ridge-poles supporting the roof. These must run the full length of the house, and it is no easy matter to find and bring in poles (consisting of the aerial roots of the banyan) of the required length. Those for the *tobar tʃan* at Kurtatchi, which were brought in while I was there, were provided by the [804] village of Tabut. A length of fibre string had previously been sent from Kurtatchi as an indication of the length required. They measured 65 ft. 8 in.[1] They are brought through the bush by the 881 313 824 *upi* boys themselves, assisted by the older men, both *amro* and *kwigin*. All the women must keep out of the way while this is being done. Marotē had promised to accompany me on a visit to Ruri on the day when the *pa'i* were brought, but when she heard this was

[1] For the ordinary dwelling-house the *pa'i* would measure not more than about 40 feet.

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to be done she refused to go, saying it was dangerous to walk about on that day. The *pa'i* were brought to within about half a mile of the village. They were covered with leaves, and from them depended all sorts of creepers and ornamental plants, especially the split leaves of the *win* palm, of which the *upi* are made. They were laid upon forked sticks set up in the ground to a height of about 3 feet. There they remained for three days, until enough opossums had been caught and smoked to provide a feast following their arrival in the village.

On the afternoon of the third day, just before dusk, a crowd of men and *upi* boys went out, to the accompaniment of the sound of the *mabu* and much blowing of conch-shells, to meet the Tabut people, who were bringing in one *pa'i*. There were several rushes, and pretence of fighting, and much shouting when it finally reached the village and was placed upon a stand that had been prepared for it in the central space, near the *tobar*. Then all the men and boys from both villages congregated in front of Pinari's largest hut. Here they held a short *kōma*. Then they went back to the *tobar*. Presently the people of Ruri came up with the areca-palm planks they had prepared for the making of the verandah of the 'long house'. These were also swathed in leaves, and were received with another mock fight, followed by another *kōma*. Then the people of Sēlō, a group of villages farther along the road to the west, came up with two more *pa'i* and were received in the same fashion. After this all the men and boys sat round and ate pig and opossum and ceremonial pudding. The materials for chewing the betel-mixture were distributed in large quantities. There was a general air of tension about the whole proceedings, and Pinari was careful to impress upon me the importance of the occasion.

All the women were obliged to stay inside their huts, with the entrance closed, while all this was going on. They kept up a perpetual howling until the *kōma* was over and the men had settled down to eat pig and to chew the betel-mixture. The howling is done because their husbands and sons are engaged upon a very dangerous proceeding, and they are afraid that some of the *upi* boys will die.

The boys wearing the *upi*, for whose benefit all these preparations were being made, held a *kōma* later in the evening, no one else taking any part in it. It did not last very long (Pl. 30*a*).

The *pa'i* remained on their stand, covered with leaves and

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881 313 creepers, for eight days. They were then stripped of their coverings by the *upi* boys, and left to dry in the sun till they should be required for the building of the 'long house'.

881 313 621 The *tartaras* (rafters) for the long house were also provided by the people of Tabut. These were brought in some days later, with renewed shouting and excitement, covered with leaves and the split leaves of young *win* palm in the same manner as the *pa'i*. But the occasion was regarded as much less important than the bringing in of the *pa'i*, and there was no *kōma* connected with it.

881 834 688 From the time when the *pa'i* are cut, up to the time when the *watawutf* takes place, it is accounted a very serious offence for any man in any of the villages concerned in the ceremony to have sexual intercourse with any woman other than his wife or wives, a proceeding ordinarily regarded with unconcern. It so happened that while the people of Tabut were working on the *pa'i* for the *watawutf* to be held at Kurtatchi, a man from one of the hamlets comprising the village of Tabut broke this taboo. The woman became pregnant, and was made to tell the name of her lover. As soon as this became known at Kurtatchi, some of the men of that village took a pole and tied some fibre to it; this they left in front of the house where the offender lived, as a sign that he had been found out. He was then obliged to pay a fine of a pig to the Kurtatchi people. Two of the Kurtatchi men went over the next day and brought the pig back; it was cut up and cooked immediately, and the *pa'i* were smeared with its fat. This was done in order to obviate the harm that might otherwise have ensued from the breaking of the taboo.

881 292 824 386 438 The next matter of importance was to arrange for the making of the special *upi*, to be used at the *watawutf*. These are elaborately ornamented with a cut-out pattern laid on over the usual *win* leaves. The cut-out is made of the same *win* palm leaves, dyed with a special dye, the secret of which is known only to the mountain people, from whom the leaves are purchased ready dyed. When, shortly before I had gone upon a trip into the interior, I was charged by Pinari to bring back a supply of these from the Kunua people, who were experts in the art of dyeing them. This I did, and was also able to obtain from a Kunua native the secret of the dye, after promising that I would not disclose it to the coast people, a promise which it was not difficult to keep, as they had no idea that the mountain people had let me into the secret. The

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At this stage in the proceedings I was reluctantly obliged to preparations for the *watawutʃ*, and the ceremony itself, are therefore described not from observation but from information received from the natives, who professed to be sorry that I was not going to see it. The details given in the following pages have been verified with the utmost care, but it is impossible to know the extent of their incompleteness.

MAKING THE *UPI* FOR THE *WATAWUTʃ*

As soon as the 'long house' is completed, word is sent to the people of the mountains to come down and help to make the special *upi* with the red patterns which must be used for the *watawutʃ* (Pl. 27). The Kurtatchi people call for this service from the Hahon (Wawon in their dialect, which has no *h*) who live in the foot-hills behind the north coast. The men making the *upi* do not, however, work in the *tobar tʃan*, but in the ordinary *tobar*, the only condition being that the owner of the *tobar* must possess a number of pigs—not for use, but as a sign of his prestige. One *tobar* in the village of Kurtatchi could not be used for this purpose because its owner had no pigs. The other two divided between them the making of the *upi* for the boys of the different villages of the group. For boys from Tabut and Wantoa the hats were to be made in the *tobar* belonging to Kakari, of the clan Nakarib, for those of Munlus, Baniata, Bona, Mosang, and Togaragar, in the *tobar* belonging to Wasē, clan Naboin. For the boys of Kurtatchi, the hats are made in the *tobar* of the clan to which each belongs. One hat is made for each boy who is to take part in the ceremony. These special upi are called *wasōbō*. The Hahon people are paid for cutting the patterns. In the olden days this payment was made with specially prized stone axe-heads, but nowadays with trade knives, and also sometimes with loin-cloths and other trade goods. Ceremonial currency, either of shell or teeth, must never be used for this payment (perhaps because of its use in connexion with marriage?). The *amro* make the payments to the Hahon people, and are subsequently repaid by the mothers of the initiates.

The time occupied in making these hats is a period of great tension throughout the village. While the work is in progress the workers must stay in the *tobar*, and the village must be kept as silent as possible. No sweeping or cleaning must be done. Each

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they wanted the *tumana* to see the hats they had made. All the men

[538] You are making very sacred things.'

The teller of this story volunteered the statement that nowadays, if a woman behaved as did the woman in the tale, they would not be able to kill her, because the Government had forbidden it. [754] They would all have intercourse with her, and then somebody would 'make poison' against her and she would die, but it would not be known who was responsible for her death.

PRELIMINARIES

When all the preparations are complete, a hut is built in the bush, and the boys must sleep there for two nights. The *amro* [342] accompany them. During this time the boys are not allowed to eat anything except one small piece of taro. The reason given for this abstinence is that if they were to eat too much they would be too heavy to be carried on the shoulders of the *amro* during the ceremony.

While the boys are in the bush, the people of the village where the *watawutf* is to be held set up platforms in the centre of the village and cover them with food. All the villages which are sending boys to the ceremony help in providing this food. Vast quantities are required, as people come from villages scattered over a wide area. At the one to be held at Kurtatchi they were expecting contingents from the whole of the north coast of Bougainville and all the islands of Buka. Failure to provide enough food for the assembled multitude would in the olden days have resulted in a fight ending in the breaking up of the village, and even now resentment would be shown by wanton damage to taro crops and coco-nut palms, if nothing worse.

Meanwhile, a palisade has been erected round the 'long house', so high that the women cannot see over it. Then the men go into the bush and fetch two tall trees. Young canarium almonds are frequently chosen for this purpose, owing to their tall slender trunks, though they are not felled under ordinary circumstances, as their nuts are highly prized as an article of diet. If there is a *wapi* ceremony going on anywhere in the neighbourhood, these trees must be pulled up by the roots instead of being felled, otherwise the *urar* who are about in the bush will be angry.

The selected trees are called *roror*. They are brought near, but

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happened, and asks her: 'You are bleeding, aren't you?' The girl does not speak, she is afraid, but she nods her head. Her mother asks her: 'Did you see the blood when you got up this morning?'

Then her mother tells the other women: 'The girl has broken.' All the women are glad. They call out, and jump about, and shout, and say: 'By-and-by we shall eat a big pig, and have a dance.' They are all glad about the girl, and as they go to work they talk about her, and are pleased.

The girl's mother gives her a little taro, secretly, saying to her: 'You eat it up quickly and don't let any one see you do it.' After [262] that she must go hungry, she must not eat any more. She is forbidden to eat taro, coco-nuts, bananas, pig, or fish, and she must not drink. All that she can have is a kind of areca-nut, which is not strong, and has water in it, so that it moistens her tongue. [824] (This is not the kind of areca-nut which is usually chewed, but a smaller variety, called *gagmorat*, *gag* = drink.)

Two children keep her company and go hungry along with her. They must belong to her clan. Both must be too young to menstruate. The girl's mother, father, brothers and sisters (blood and classificatory), and grandparents do not eat either. For a commoner this is enough, but for a girl who is *tsunaun* all the village goes hungry. This fast goes on for about two days, until a certain part of the ceremony is over.

When the girl's mother goes to draw water in the evening, she must take all the water-coco-nuts (see p. 289) and hide them in another hut. If she does not want to do this, she must pour away all the water that is not used immediately. If she left any of it in [841] the hut, the girl might steal some and drink it, and that would be very bad for her, for then her blood would flow all the time and would not dry up. The two children who are keeping the girl company may drink a little secretly, without letting the girl see them, and they may eat a little taro also in the same way. After two days the girl may eat a little specially prepared taro, which her mother brings to her secretly, and may drink a very little water, enough to make her tongue cold.

The girl and her two companions must stay inside the hut for [565] five days and nights. If she is a commoner four will be enough. She must sit all the time doing nothing, and must not leave the hut at all except to relieve herself. When this is necessary she puts on a hood, and goes no farther than the back of the hut. One of the

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tsunaun tjan at Tabut, because his forefathers had sold the land where the village of Tabut now stands to Karabun's forefathers for a sum which, Pinari contended, covered only the site of the village, and not the bush behind it, potentially useful for taro gardens. The other side claimed that the payment made for the village site was enough for this also. Pinari used to make spasmodic attempts to extract additional payment from Karabun, but without success. 425 565

Land thus vested in the *tsunaun* descends of right to his heir to this office, his eldest sister's eldest son. But all the people of the group have the right to hunt or to gather wild fruits or berries in it, and to take water or fish from pools, or leaves for thatch, &c., irrespective of clan. 423 565

Certain spots, a particular group of rocks, a clump of trees, a pool, are considered to be the special property of one or other of the clans, because some spirit is supposed to dwell there who is intimately concerned with that particular clan. This subject will be further discussed in Chapter XV. 423 614

The amount of land to be cleared for a new taro garden is decided by discussion, according to the purpose for which the taro is required. The garden is held in common in so far as it is enclosed by one fence, which all the men help to erect, but each man sets up a certain portion of this fence, which he is responsible for keeping in good condition. The Petats people divided the plots according to the uprights in the fence, each man taking, as a rule, the space between two uprights for each of his dependants, e.g. wives and children. The Kurtatchi people divide the garden by means of logs laid on the ground (see Pl. 40). At the original division which takes place when the worst of the bush has been cleared from the new garden, each man will take a plot for each of his wives, one for his sister if she be a widow living in the same village, and sometimes others for his children. A little girl can own a plot of taro, which her mother will help her to tend. The mother will probably destroy this taro if the child dies. For the further clearing of these plots from underbrush the man who annexed them is personally responsible, and his womenfolk must plant it and keep it weeded. They are entitled to take the produce for themselves and their families. If any one wants more taro than there is on her own plot, 417 423 621 423

earlier deals are still the subject of dispute, the natives asserting that the white men did not pay all that they promised.

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she must buy it, paying in any commodity that happens to be available. But when a big feast, such as the *matanuf*, is held, each must contribute to the common stock for the entertainment of the vast crowds of visitors who will arrive for the occasion.

Portions of land are allotted by the *tsunaun* to any one who wishes to plant coco-nut palms.[1] These trees are then his personal property, and no one would take nuts from them without his consent, except such near relatives as children, or brothers and sisters, both blood and classificatory. However thirsty a man may be while on a journey, he would not think of climbing a coco-nut palm to shake down nuts, unless he came to a grove to whose owner he stood in such relationship.

Ownership is also recognized in certain trees, such as those used for making dug-out canoes, or those valued for their fruit, such as the canarium almond. It may be established by planting the tree, or inherited from a relative who planted. These trees will be on land which, though vested in the *tsunaun*, and said to 'belong to' him, is used by the whole group, as explained in a previous paragraph, so that the ownership of trees is differentiated from the ownership of the land they stand on. To a great extent it is true here, as is described by Thurnwald at Buin (1912, p. 34), that property is connected chiefly with the results of work.

Pigs.

Pigs rank as property next in importance to strings of *imun* and above *beroan*. They are entirely personal possessions, and may be owned by anybody, man, woman, or child. A man with no pigs is regarded as poor, but there is nothing to prevent him from gaining prestige in the village by other means. Sobak, one of the prominent rain-makers of Kurtatchi, had no pigs, and though this was sometimes the subject of rather jeering comment, it did not prevent him from receiving a certain amount of deference in view of his skill at rain-making. But a man without pigs is debarred from certain privileges. For example, only a man who can produce ten pigs may build a *tobar* (boys' house), and those wishing to make use of this *tobar* pay a pig to the owner, except the boys wearing the *upi*, who are exempt.

Each person knows his own pigs individually, treats them as

[1] The Government has now instituted a rule that every man must plant ten coco-nut palms for each of his children at birth.